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OCI No. 1991/67

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Intelligence
28 November 1967

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

The Cyprus Situation
(As of 4:00 PM EST)

1. The Greek cabinet, presided over by King Constantine, is meeting tonight to consider the most recent Turkish proposals. Turkey had initially requested an answer by tonight, but NATO Secretary General Brosio was quoted by Athens radio as saying that "you should not expect any important statement tonight." It is not known whether or not Turkey has agreed to wait longer for a reply to its proposals.

2. After a meeting with Turkish President Sunay, Prime Minister Demirel reportedly told journalists in Ankara that he did not think that Presidential Envoy Vance would be returning to Ankara. Such a statement would indicate that the Turkish government continues to regard their proposals of yesterday as Turkey's final position. Turkish military preparedness remains at a high level.

4. The anti-American demonstration planned for 27 November by the leftist Turkish National Student Federation (TMTF) did not take place, and another demonstration planned

State Department review completed

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by the students of Ankara University faculty of political science and law for 28 November was cancelled. The latter group has been granted a license to march on 30 November, but the route will avoid all US installations.

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5. The Soviets are still publicly urging restraint on the part of the protagonists while trying to remain on the right side of the Turks and isolate the Greek junta. Soviet Ambassador Smirnov told newsmen in Ankara yesterday that Moscow favored the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cyprus, strongly hinting that he meant the Greek troops. During the 1963-64 crisis, Moscow criticized the Turkish position and supported Makarios' efforts to reduce the political role of the Turkish community. Now, however, Moscow is trying to protect its improved relationship with Turkey, as well as maintain its support for Makarios.

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OCI No. 1990/67

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INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

Supplement to The Cyprus Situation
(As of 12:00 Noon EST)

1. As he returned to Athens today, Presidential Envoy Vance was not optimistic that the Greek government would accept the latest Turkish proposals. In addition to the 45 day time limit, which Greek Foreign Minister Pipinelis did not seem to have much trouble with, the Turkish proposal suggests that UNFICYP, under its enlarged and improved mandate, supervise disarmament of "all forces constituted after 1963." Such forces would include the Cypriot National Guard, the police and the gendarmarie.

2. Pipinelis told Vance that he found this aspect of the proposals "impossible," and that he could not recommend it to his government. He believes that chaos would result if Greek forces were removed and the National Guard disarmed before some other force was instituted. Vance assured him that the UNFICYP disarmament role would be entirely in the hands of the UN, and that the Turks have set no time limit on such operations.

3. Turkish Foreign Minister Caglayangil has sent word to Vance in Athens that he will attempt to gain more time for the Greeks to reach a decision, but that the decision is not up to him. He reemphasizes, however, his earlier warning that Turkey is not in a position to revise the text which Vance carried to Athens today.

4. As has been noted, Makarios and the Cypriot government are very unlikely to accept the disarmament of the National Guard while the Turkish contingent remains on the island.

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5. The USUN mission reports that Secretary-General U Thant would be willing to cooperate in the appeal which the proposals recommend, but only if the Turkish, Greek, and Cypriot governments agree. USUN concludes that if some formula can be agreed upon by the three governments, ways can be found to meet the requirements of the situation.

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INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

The Cyprus Situation
(As of 12:00 Noon EST)

1. Presidential Envoy Cyrus Vance has again returned to Athens with the latest Turkish proposals. NATO Secretary General Brosio, who has also returned to Athens believes the latest Turkish draft is more difficult for the Greeks to accept. He adds his belief that the Turks are not going to change the text anymore, but that he sees nothing in the proposals which would violate Greek interests or national honor. The Turkish government reportedly has denied press reports that it issued an ultimatum, which would imply that the Turks are willing to give Athens some time to consider the proposals. Secretary General U Thant's emissary Rolz-Bennet has also returned to Athens.

2. Reports from Nicosia indicate that Cypriot President Makarios may indeed prove to be a stumbling block in attempts to resolve the crisis. Cypriot Foreign Minister Kyprianou informed the US Ambassador today that the Government of Cyprus could never agree to a solution which left the Greek and Turkish contingents (as established by the London-Zurich accords) on the island, and that any thought of disbanding the Cypriot National Guard would be completely out of the question. Kyprianou appears to believe that the Greeks and Greek Cypriots are being forced to make all the concessions, and that the Turks were being allowed to maintain virtually their original stance. The Ambassador concludes that it is going to be a "major task" to get the Cypriots to agree to the proposals being discussed in Athens and Ankara.

3. An editorial in a pro-government Nicosia paper reflects the apparent stiffness of the Greek Cypriot stance.

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It states that if Turkey's extreme demand for the removal of Greek troops is to be accepted, Turkey must agree to remove its own contingent, abandon its alleged right of unilateral intervention, and announce that it respects Cyprus's territorial integrity. The emphasis of the editorial is that Turkey must make concessions, and it concludes that "if Turkey prefers war, we are ready for war."

4. In Turkey, some papers are encouraged that a diplomatic solution may be found, but warn that Turkey is still determined and could go to war if these efforts break down. They acknowledge the US's role as mediator and comment that the US attitude is better than it was in 1964. Other papers note that time is passing that the negotiations have still not born fruit.

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6. The Greeks have avoided any mention of a Turkish ultimatum. An ambiguous statement promised only "clarification of the situation" today. The Greek Government is confident of maintaining internal order in case of a war and believes that in the event of a Turkish invasion of Cyprus, the Greek Cypriots would attempt to wipe out the Turkish Cypriot community. Both Greek nationalists and leftists are critical of US actions as favoring Turkey but as the crisis has deepened, they are avoiding any criticism of Greek government policy. The general populace supports their Government's policy and believes US efforts will avert a war.

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(As of 8:00 AM EST)

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3. The Turkish terms which Mr. Vance is discussing in Athens do not differ substantially from the five points of several days ago, which the Greeks have stated they were willing to accept. However, there has been attached a demand that the withdrawal of the Greek "illegals" be completed in 45 days--a condition which Vance thinks Athens will find hard to swallow. In addition, Ankara has clearly indicated that these are the final Turkish terms, that Athens must "accept them or accept war," and that a definite answer is expected on the 28th. Even if the Greeks accept all the Turkish conditions, agreement could be blocked either by Makarios refusing to go along or by UNSYG Thant refusing to issue an appeal based on the Turkish terms. Vance has grave doubts that the Greeks will accept the Turkish document. He also thinks Demirel may have lost control of his cabinet, and that someone--perhaps the military--may have forced him back to a harder line than he had been holding to in early discussions. When he arrived at Athens this morning Vance said he did not know if he would be returning to Ankara.

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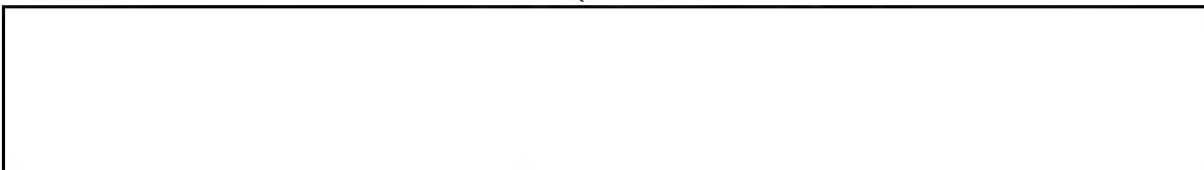
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2. The 27th of November has passed with no reports of any attempted coup by the military in Turkey. (This date had been mentioned as the deadline for action by dissident Turkish Ground and Air Force officers against the Demirel government, if the Cyprus problem was still unresolved.) Nevertheless, Demirel's delay in attacking Cyprus is drawing increased criticism from Turkish military circles, and some of this has been directed against Turkish General Staff chief Tural. Tural seems to be firmly in control, however, and it is doubtful that any coup could succeed against his opposition.



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4. According to press reports from Ankara, Soviet Ambassador Smirnov has come out openly on the Turkish side in the Cyprus dispute. After a meeting with Foreign Secretary Caglayangil, Smirnov called for the withdrawal of all troops "who have entered Cyprus illegally." He told the press representatives, "you know who we mean by that."

5. Although there appears to be a lessening of tension on Cyprus there has been a recent increase in police, civil defense, and military police patrol activity. Many wealthy Greek Cypriots have moved from Nicosia to hotels in the

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Trodos Mountains. Both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot press have toned down their near-hysteria in the last day or so. President Makarios is agreeable to the early withdrawal of mainland Greek forces from Cyprus, but he would also like to see the Turkish contingent depart--something to which Ankara will not agree for a long time.

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